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shawls, and skirts; men use black and grey serapes; pottery is invariably of unadorned clay. Although *rebozos* of many colors and patterns are easily available in Cuernavaca, there is hardly a Tepoztecan woman or girl who wears anything but a dark blue, brown, grey, or black *rebozo*. The desire to be inconspicuous and less easily identifiable is one of the underlying reasons for this choice. There is also a belief that it is dangerous to wear bright colors, because the rainbow is attracted to them and will follow them.

There is a marked quality of detachment in inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán. Although living side by side, Tepozteicans communicate little of their innermost thoughts, aspirations, fears, likes, and dislikes and, for the most part, remain strangers to one another.² While a man may know a great deal about most of his neighbors in a small barrio, and about some in other barrios, and may know them as so-called whole persons, that is, in their various roles as parents, neighbors, godparents, *mayordomos*, or farmers, what is known are the relatively superficial aspects of personality only. Tepozteicans are a practical people concerned with external behavior, and they judge others by actions rather than by attitudes, ideas, or inner life.

When a Tepoztecan is asked to describe the personality of another, the most frequently used terms for positive traits are "hard worker," "serious," "manly," "intelligent," "honorable," "good person," and "good humored." The most commonly pointed out negative traits are "liar," "foolish," "stingy," "drunkard," "talkative," "coward," "crazy," "bad tempered," and "miserable." Traits which imply knowledge about the internal life and quality of an individual, such as "warm" or "cold," "imaginative" or "unimaginative," "sensitive" or "hard," "sympathetic" or "unsympathetic," etc., are significantly absent.

Like many peasant peoples, Tepozteicans are not introspective. They have little insight in understanding their own character and even less of others. There is little interest in or need for self-revelation, mutual confidences, confession, or lengthy conversation; imaginativeness, fantasy life, originality, initiative, and individuality are either undeveloped or suppressed. Always, the emphasis is upon conformity to traditional ways.³

The general restraint and constriction which characterize most inter-personal relations are also seen in the relations between the sexes and in the prevailing atti

²Sol Tax has called attention to the impersonality of relations between traders in the Guatemalan highlands. See his "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), pp. 22-42.

³I should like to call attention to some of the implications of the above for the traditional distinction made by many sociologists between folk and urban society in terms of primary and secondary relationships. This distinction assumes that in the folk society, which is a small society, most relations are of a face-to-face type and therefore of an intimate nature, in contrast to the impersonal and superficial relationships in the city. The point is that, within the category of primary relationships, the range in the quality of these relationships may be so great as to require finer distinctions. Certainly, for purposes of cultural and psychological analysis, the folk-urban dichotomy is inadequate in that it lumps together societies which are very different. See also Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 433.

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152 In anger Tepoztecs frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal.
578 If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

[857] Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken

578 unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos*, bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

669 Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecán ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecán generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

461 How do Tepoztecs seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecs frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal*.

155 The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

156 On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

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ing the individual is becoming more and more limited, it still offers a relative degree of security, especially in times of serious trouble. 156 [596]

In a more vague way, there is also a certain amount of security felt within the barrio and within the village as a whole in comparison to the world outside. The consciousness of Tepoztecos of being in a position of relative power and superiority over the rest of the municipio has made for local pride and a feeling of unity which also foster a sense of individual security. In contrast, the population of the surrounding villages suffers from a chronic feeling of injustice and exploitation at the hands of the village of Tepoztlán. [621] [628]

Tepoztecos also seek security through privacy. The withdrawal and personal detachment noted earlier, as well as a fear of intimacy, are characteristic of a majority of Tepoztecos. The man who speaks little, keeps his affairs to himself, and maintains some distance between himself and others has less chance of creating enemies or of being criticized or envied. A man does not generally discuss his plans to buy or sell or take a trip, except with persons who are directly concerned. A woman does not customarily tell a neighbor or even a relative that she is going to have a baby or make a new dress or prepare something special for dinner. 154 [521] [571]

If an accident occurs to another's property, few hasten to inform the owner, who may not discover it until it is a total loss. In one case, a widow's pig was killed by a bus. Although it was known that she was the owner, no one told her about the accident. By the time she learned of it, most of the meat had been cut away by nearby residents, and she was left with only the head and tail. [685]

There is greater readiness to communicate in another's misfortune than to take joy in his success, resulting in a more widespread sharing of bad news than good. There is an almost secretive attitude toward good fortune, and boasting is at a minimum. People in Tepoztlán do not ordinarily advise each other where a good purchase or sale is to be made, how an animal can be cured, or in what ways a crop may be improved. Articles and market baskets carried through the streets are kept carefully covered from prying eyes. Although matters of illness and health are often a topic of conversation, there is reluctance to recommend a good remedy or *curendero*. In general, there is an absence of altruism, generosity, charity, and the spirit of sharing. Doing favors for others is rare and creates suspicion. Favors are generally associated with people *de cultura* who, it is said, do favors to get favors. 521 [571] [577]

When young people or children show kindness or pity to outsiders they are frequently "corrected" by their mothers. Children are scolded for giving things to their friends or for being trusting and generous in lending articles to persons outside the family. Children or others who expect sympathy and help are called fools and are derided. It is attitudes such as these which daily reinforce the Tepoztecan's harsh view of life and throw him upon his own resources. 867 [571]

Security is sought through respect and the extension of respect-relationships. By respect, Tepoztecos mean an appreciation or recognition of high status as demonstrated by the use of the respectful *Vd.*, by the avoidance of intimacy or undue familiarity, joking, and discussions of sex or other subjects of intimate nature. A 554 [571] [576] 195

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[426] birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival. The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

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571 There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

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[753] Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espanto*, rather than to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

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593 This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

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154 Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate, and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be little or no self-defense.

[691] For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

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[208] This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls

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157 greater ability or willingness to reveal their phantasy life (M) and feelings (C) than do the Guatemalan Indians. Since there are not two cultural groups with different status positions living side by side in Tepoztlán as in San Jilotepec, our adult groups are freer than the other Indian group to move in a world of their own, and do not have to withdraw from or resist the assumed feelings of superiority of a mestizo group.

171 On the other hand Tepoztecs do not live in as lively a phantasy world as do the Berens River, Salteaux Indians investigated by Hallowell. Among 58 adults (men and women sixteen years of age or over), the average number of M responses was 3.9; but in Tepoztlán, among our adolescents and adults (subgroups A, B, C), only 17 out of 67 gave more than one M response. The Tepoztec group as a whole was not spontaneous in the use of creative imagination nor in living in a phantasy world. They are living much closer to a concrete and realistic world than were the Salteaux Indians, and did not allow themselves the kind of freedom in which their phantasies are encouraged or left uninhibited.

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INTER-GROUP COMPARISONS

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In the following discussion when we speak of a characteristic in which a subgroup shows a definite high or low trend we shall mean something specific statistically. By high trend we shall mean that over 60 per cent of a subgroup gives a score at or higher than a rough median for the whole Tepoztec group. For example, we found out how many cases in a subgroup gave fifteen or more responses to the blots, how many gave seven or more whole answers, two or more human movement answers, 50 per cent or more pure form. On the other hand, if less than 40 per cent of a subgroup had a score at or below the whole group median, we have taken this to indicate a low trend in a particular scoring category. (See Tables 54 and 55.)

The older adults (subgroups A₁ female, and A₂ male) are characterized by a low frequency of large detail responses (D), low frequencies of human and animal movement (M and FM) and low percentage frequency of animal content responses. The older adults, men and women, appear to have low energy drives (FM); their imaginative life is to some degree restricted, but they also seem to have not too conventional attitudes toward problems of everyday living (low A% and D). The deviant position of these older men and women, however, is not the same. The men move from a more conventional and everyday way of life to a more highly uncontrolled and explosive emotional one; the older women, although still functioning in a very concrete and controlled way, become rigid, pedantic, and fussy in adapting to their life situations. The older males are high in giving crude whole answers, while the older women are varied in number of whole answers and in number of small detail. In their manner of approach to the cards, the women do not show the rather poorly controlled, unreflective, and uncritical intellectual approach that is characteristic of the older men.

Along with the crude approach of these older males goes a low pure-form fre-

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of money. But only the most aggressive wives try to break their husbands of the habit.

Drinking is an important emotional outlet for men. It is believed that drinking helps one to get over *muña*, and it is traditional for men to go out to drink after a quarrel at home. Sometimes the men come home drunk and aggressive; other times "because they lack judgment" they arrive full of affection and kiss and caress the members of the family. It is interesting that only under intoxication will husbands and fathers openly demonstrate their affection in this way. Repressed hostilities toward wife, mother, child, or others also frequently come out when a man has been drinking. Some husbands beat their wives only when drunk. Drinking to get courage to punish a wife, seduce a woman, or attack an enemy is also common. Men often give a particular shout or cry "*grita*" after drinking, to show that they feel brave.

Although women in Tepoztlán are not supposed to drink, a few women are known to drink regularly and have been seen in a drunken state. Drunken women often cry for hours at a time and are inconsolable. In contrast to men, they do not respond to intoxication with aggression or impulsiveness but with self-pity. Widows or abandoned wives, more than other women, tend to drink for comfort. A few modern young girls get together occasionally for drinking and smoking in secret, but they discontinue this after marriage.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The relations between parents and children in Tepoztlán are also conditioned by emphasis on respect and authority. Children are reared to respect and obey their elders and to submit to the will of their mother and father so long as they live under the parental roof. Not long ago, all children in Tepoztlán kissed the hands of their parents, grandparents, and godparents in greeting; now only a few families continue this custom, and children are embarrassed to do it in the presence of outsiders. In the smaller outlying villages in the municipio, hand-kissing is still a common practice.

From infancy on, children in Tepoztlán are encouraged to be quiet, passive, and unobtrusive; older children are required to be obedient, self-controlled, and helpful. There is great emphasis placed upon "good" behavior in children, and the possibility of a child "not turning out well" is one of the fears of Tepoztecán parents. It is feared that a child who is badly raised will not be a good worker and will get into trouble. Such a child reflects ill upon his parents and is a cause for shame.

The responsibility of child rearing is felt as a heavy burden, particularly by mothers. Upon the death of a small child, it is not uncommon for the mother to comfort herself with the statement, "It is better thus, for who knows if he would have turned out well."

While both parents are held responsible by society at large for the care and conduct of their children, within the home the major burden falls upon the mother. It is the mother who feeds, bathes, and clothes the children and cares for them

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As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacramisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,^a *padrino de medida o listón*,^b *padrino de evangelio*,^c *padrino de escapulario*, *padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

Compadres address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respectful relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

^a The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

^b The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

^c This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred: a woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.